

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 OSLO 04516 01 OF 02 071829Z

51

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 DODE-00 SS-20 NSC-10

SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 EB-11 ACDA-19 IO-14 OMB-01 DRC-01 /146 W

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O 071704Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7502

INFO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 4516

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NO

GR

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL: NORWEGIAN CRITICISM OF GREECE

REF: A. STATE 236266; B. OSLO 4362

BEGIN SUMMARY. NORWAY IS GOING THROUGH WITH ITS INTENTION
OF RAISING THE GREEK ISSUE (BUT NOT PORTUGAL) AT THE
NATO MINISTERIAL. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPOSED STATE-

SECRET

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PAGE 02 OSLO 04516 01 OF 02 071829Z

MENT AVOIDS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTING THE PROBLEMS OF THE PAST

TO THE NEW GREEK REGIME, BUT THE STATEMENT IS STILL LIKELY TO EVOKE A GREEK REJOINDER. I REITERATED OUR POSITION TO BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER TODAY, BUT THEY REMAIN CONVINCED THAT, FOR COMPELLING DOMESTIC REASONS, THEY MUST TAKE UP THE ISSUE ONCE MORE. END SUMMARY.

1. NORWAY'S INTERVENTION ON GREECE AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL WILL BE COUCHED IN TERMS OF A HOPE THAT THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT WILL "PREPARE THE WAY FOR A RETURN OF DEMOCRATIC RULE." I HAVE GONE OVER OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RAISING THE SUBJECT AT NATO WITH BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER TODAY, AND WHILE BOTH UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION THEIR DOMESTIC CONCERNS ARE OVERRIDING.

2. PRIME MINISTER BRATTELI, WHOM I HAD ARRANGED TO SEE FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON BEFORE THE LONDON CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING, TOLD ME IN GENERAL TERMS WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD SAY IN BRUSSELS. I AGREED WITH HIM THAT THE PROPOSED FORMULATION WAS PERHAPS AS INOFFENSIVE TO THE PRESENT GREEK REGIME AS COULD BE, SINCE IT DID NOT SPECIFICALLY EXPRESS A JUDGMENT ON THAT REGIME, BUT I NEVERTHELESS REITERATED OUR CONCERN AT NOWAY'S RAISING THE SUBJECT AT ALL. BRATTELI WAS PARTICULARLY RESPONSIVE TO MY ARGUMENT THAT SIGNS OF DISSENSION AND DIVISIVNESS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE GIVE COMFORT TO THE SOVIETS AND MAY BE MISLEADING TO THEM. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT, WITHOUT WISHING TO REPEAT ALL HE HAD TOLD ME ON A PREVIOUS OCCASION (OSLO 3774), HE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT ALLIANCES REMAIN STRONG ONLY SO LONG AS THEY ENJOY THE POPULAR SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE, HENCE THE NEED FOR CRITICIZING UNDEMOCRATIC REGIMES BECAUSE OF POPULAR SENTIMENT IN NORWAY.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND INVITED ME TO CALL SPECIFICALLY TO RECEIVE A COPY OF WHAT HE IS PROPOSING TO SAY IN BRUSSELS. HE BEGAN BY OBSERVING I HAD BEEN IN NORWAY LONG ENOUGH TO REALIZE THAT NO LABOR FOREIGN MINISTER COULD GO TO BRUSSELS THIS MONTH WITHOUT MENTIONING THE GREEK ISSUE, GIVEN THE STUDENT UPRISINGS, THE RECENT COUP--AND THE FACT THAT TWO CONSERVATIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS BEFORE HIM HAD TAKEN UP THE MATTER IN NATO MINISTERIALS. HE REFERRED TO HIS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 OSLO 04516 01 OF 02 071829Z

CONVERSATIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND OTHER OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK AND SAID HE REALIZED THE US ATTITUDE. HE DID NOT EXPECT TO HAVE OUR SUPPORT OR EVEN OUR UNDERSTANDING, BUT HE DID WANT TO INFORM US IN ADVANCE OF WHAT HE IS PROPOSING TO SAY.

4. AFTER READING THE STATEMENT (TEXT IN PARA 7 BELOW), I WENT OVER THE SAME ARGUMENTS I HAD USED JUST PREVIOUSLY

WITH BRATTELI, ADDING THAT I HAD CONTINUED TO HOPE HE MIGHT HAVE DISPOSED OF THE MATTER BY DISCUSSING IT PRIVATELY WITH HIS GREEK COUNTERPART. AS FOR THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSED STATEMENT, I COMMENTED THAT I THOUGHT IT WAS SKILLFULLY DRAFTED IN AT LEAST NOT PREJUDGING THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT GREEK REGIME. BEYOND THAT, THE ONLY PROBLEM I RAISED WITH CONTENT WAS ITS IMPLICATION THAT THE NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTY SIGNING THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION IF THE GREEK REGIME DID NOT RESTORE DEMOCRATIC RULE. FRYDENLUND MADE NO COMMENT ON THAT OBSERVATION.

5. FRYDENLUND TOLD ME HE WILL TRY TO ARRANGE A MEETING WITH THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER BEFORE THE PLENARY SO THAT HE CAN ALSO INFORM HIM OF WHAT HE PROPOSES TO SAY. HE DOES NOT WANT TO PRECIPITATE A DEBATE, THOUGH HE SUPPOSES THE GREEK MAY FEEL FORCED TO RESPOND. ASKED WHETHER HE IS ACTING ALONE OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS, FRYDENLUND SAID HE IS SURE THE NETHERLANDS FOREIGN MINISTER WILL ALSO SPEAK ON THE SUBJECT AND THAT THERE MAY BE DANISH SUPPORT, THOUGH THE DANISH GOVERNMENTAL SITUATION LEAVES SOME UNCERTAINTY. I ASKED ABOUT PORTUGAL, AND FRYDENLUND SAID HE WILL NOT RAISE THE SUBJECT.

6. STRUCTURALLY, FRYDENLUND'S 15-MINUTE INTERVENTION WILL BEGIN WITH A REFERENCE TO NORWAY'S POSITION OUTSIDE THE EC AND AN APPEAL FOR NATO TO STICK TOGETHER, MOVE ON TO A DISCUSSION OF THE DUAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE (A REFERENCE, PRESUMABLY, TO THE NORWEGIAN VIEW THAT THE DRAFT ATLANTIC DECLARATION SHOULD GIVE GREATER STRESS TO NATO'S DETENTE ROLE), THEN GO INTO THE GREEK ITEM. AFTER I HAD DISCUSSED, LATER IN OUR CONVERSATION, THE IMPORTANCE OF A PROMPT BURDEN-SHARING SOLUTION, FRYDENLUND SAID HE WOULD INSERT AN ENDORSE-
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SECRET

PAGE 04 OSLO 04516 01 OF 02 071829Z

MENT OF BURDENSARING AFTER THE DISCUSSION OF GREECE AND BEFORE HIS CONCLUSION.

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PAGE 01 OSLO 04516 02 OF 02 071836Z

46

ACTION EUR-25

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S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 2 OSLO 4516

7. THE TEXT FRYDENLUND GAVE ME, WHICH HE STRESSES IS STILL
ONLY A "TENTATIVE DRAFT," FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT. IN THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH
WE ARE DISCUSSING IT IS REITERATED THAT OUR SOLIDARITY IS
BASED ON OUR JOINT SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY
AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. AS FAR AS NORWEGIAN PUBLIC
OPINION IS CONCERNED, THIS IS NO MERE RHETORIC. WE REGARD
NATO AS AN ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE. THE
ALLIANCE CAN ONLY SURVIVE FOR A LONG AS IT ENJOYS THE

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SECRET

PAGE 02 OSLO 04516 02 OF 02 071836Z

SUPPORT OF OUR PEOPLES. FOR A DEFENSE ALLIANCE SUCH AS
NATO IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE SECURITY ASPECT IS
PARTICULARLY PREDOMINANT. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO
ENSURE THAT THE MILITARY SYSTEM CONTINUES TO SERVE THE
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

I FEEL PROMPTED TO MENTION THIS MATTER BECAUSE THE

RECENT SUPPRESSION OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY MILITARY MEASURES
IN ONE OF THE NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES - DURING WHICH A YOUNG
NORWEGIAN GIRL WAS KILLED - HAS MADE A DEEP IMPRESSION IN
NORWAY.

I CANNOT HIDE THE FACT THAT SUCH REPRESSIVE MEASURES
HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON MY OWN COUNTRYMEN'S ATTITUDE
TO NATO. I AM AWARE THAT THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN
ATHENS ON 16 NOVEMBER ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE
PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, SINCE THE HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT OF OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ARE EXPECTED TO
SIGN A JOINT DECLARATION, COVERING, AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS,
OUR SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, I WOULD
MOST EARNESTLY APPEAL TO THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT TO
SEE TO IT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE UPHELD AND TO PREPARE THE
WAY FOR A RETURN OF DEMOCRATIC RULE IN GREECE. END TEXT.

8. COMMENT. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY,
THE FACT THAT FRYDENLUND HAS DROPPED HIS INTENTION, EXPRESSED
TO ME EARLIER, OF ATTACKING PORTUGAL AND SWITCHING INSTEAD
TO GREECE IS OF LITTLE COMFORT. WE HAVE TRIED HARD TO
DETER THE NORWEGIANS, BUT GIVEN THE STRONG VIEWS OF THE
PRIME MINISTER, SHARED BY A WIDE SPECTRUM OF NORWEGIANS
FROM ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, I TEND TO AGREE THAT FRYDENLUND
COULD NOT GET BY WITHOUT RAISING THE SUBJECT. HOPEFULLY
THE WAY IN WHICH THE STATEMENT IS CAST WILL NOT BE SO
OFFENSIVE TO THE GREEKS AS TO PRECIPITATE A MAJOR DEBATE.
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